

## Beliefs, values and political attitudes of foreign immigration: towards a conceptual and methodological framework to study transnational immigration in Spain ; paper presented at the conference on 'Transnationalisation and Development(s): Towards a North-South Perspective'

Parra Barbosa, José Francisco

Veröffentlichungsversion / Published Version

Konferenzbeitrag / conference paper

Zur Verfügung gestellt in Kooperation mit / provided in cooperation with:

SSG Sozialwissenschaften, USB Köln

### Empfohlene Zitierung / Suggested Citation:

Parra Barbosa, J. F. (2007). *Beliefs, values and political attitudes of foreign immigration: towards a conceptual and methodological framework to study transnational immigration in Spain ; paper presented at the conference on 'Transnationalisation and Development(s): Towards a North-South Perspective'*. (COMCAD Working Papers, 23). Bielefeld: Universität Bielefeld, Fak. für Soziologie, Centre on Migration, Citizenship and Development (COMCAD). <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:0168-ssoar-349688>

### Nutzungsbedingungen:

Dieser Text wird unter einer Deposit-Lizenz (Keine Weiterverbreitung - keine Bearbeitung) zur Verfügung gestellt. Gewährt wird ein nicht exklusives, nicht übertragbares, persönliches und beschränktes Recht auf Nutzung dieses Dokuments. Dieses Dokument ist ausschließlich für den persönlichen, nicht-kommerziellen Gebrauch bestimmt. Auf sämtlichen Kopien dieses Dokuments müssen alle Urheberrechtshinweise und sonstigen Hinweise auf gesetzlichen Schutz beibehalten werden. Sie dürfen dieses Dokument nicht in irgendeiner Weise abändern, noch dürfen Sie dieses Dokument für öffentliche oder kommerzielle Zwecke vervielfältigen, öffentlich ausstellen, aufführen, vertreiben oder anderweitig nutzen.

Mit der Verwendung dieses Dokuments erkennen Sie die Nutzungsbedingungen an.

### Terms of use:

This document is made available under Deposit Licence (No Redistribution - no modifications). We grant a non-exclusive, non-transferable, individual and limited right to using this document. This document is solely intended for your personal, non-commercial use. All of the copies of this documents must retain all copyright information and other information regarding legal protection. You are not allowed to alter this document in any way, to copy it for public or commercial purposes, to exhibit the document in public, to perform, distribute or otherwise use the document in public.

By using this particular document, you accept the above-stated conditions of use.

José Francisco Parra Barbosa\*

## Beliefs, Values and Political Attitudes of Foreign Immigration:

### Towards a Conceptual and Methodological Framework to Study Transnational Immigration in Spain.

Paper presented at the conference on 'Transnationalisation and Development(s): Towards a North-South Perspective', Center for Interdisciplinary Research, Bielefeld, Germany, May 31 - June 01, 2007

COMCAD Arbeitspapiere - Working Papers

No. 23, 2007

Parra Barbosa, José Francisco: Beliefs, Values and Political Attitudes of Foreign Immigration:

Towards a Conceptual and Methodological Framework to Study Transnational Immigration in Spain, Bielefeld: COMCAD, 2007

(Working Papers – Center on Migration, Citizenship and Development; 23)

The COMCAD Working Paper Series is intended to aid the rapid distribution of work in progress, research findings and special lectures by researchers and associates of COMCAD. Papers aim to stimulate discussion among the worldwide community of scholars, policymakers and practitioners. They are distributed free of charge in PDF format via the COMCAD website.

The opinions expressed in the papers are solely those of the author/s who retain the copyright. Comments on individual Working Papers are welcomed, and should be directed to the author/s.

University of Bielefeld  
Center on Migration, Citizenship and Development (COMCAD)  
Postfach 100131

D-33501 Bielefeld

Homepage: <http://www.comcad-bielefeld.de>

## ABSTRACT

Based on the idea that the beliefs, values and political attitudes of the subjects explain the political processes taking place in the core of modern society, the main aim of this paper is to discuss a conceptual and methodological framework which makes it possible to determine the political culture of the transnational immigration residing in Spain. Taking into account that political cultures can be dramatically modified by the transnational migratory experience, we try to find the best way to establish whether the political culture of the transnational immigrants based in Spain has indeed been transformed as they have faced the values prevailing in Spanish society, as well as those associated to democracy, i.e., those valid all over the European Union. Hence, the paper focuses on the different tools available to analyze the interaction between political institutions, civil society, community-level organizations and transnational immigrants. Also, we ask whether such interaction affects, and in what ways, democratic governance. It must be highlighted that, despite the relevance of the subject matter and of its relationship with the entrenchment of democratic governance in the transnational space, the kind of research we propose, i.e., based on the political culture of immigrants, on the elements mentioned above and relying on a methodology that combines both a theoretical and an empirical approach, has not been developed in Spain yet.

## I. INTRODUCTION

The main aim of this paper is to discuss a conceptual and methodological framework which makes it possible to determine the political culture of the transnational immigrants residing in Spain, focuses on more than 1 million of Latin Americans immigrants (35.25% of whole residents with authorization), from a perspective that combines a theoretical analysis with empirical studies and methods.

The question of how to analyze the political culture of immigrants is present in the aims of the paper from different perspectives. Over the past years, Spain has undergone one of the most important growths with respect to the phenomenon of international migration; at present, the foreign population of Spain is estimated at 3 million people, representing 7,0% of the total population. Ecuador has become the main origin of Latin Americans transnational immigrants (12,46%), followed by Colombia (7.47%), and Peru (3,0%) (MTAS, 2007).

Despite numerous criticisms, the paradigm of political culture has been enriched, and certain theoretical conclusions have been reached from empirical research: the discontinuance of a static typological classification derived from specific regulatory models of democracy or of democratic stability; the shift from inflexible standards that imposed an absolute coherence between political attitudes; the revision of the causation model contained in the paradigm of civic culture, accepting the reciprocal influx between social and political attitudes, behaviors and structures; and the introduction of greater dynamism in the model used to explain the possibility of attitudinal and cultural change, as a result of the individual evaluation of the political environment or of the incorporation of new experiences.

In turn, resocialization is a factor that greatly influences the political attitudes of immigrants that affects their perceptions, habits and political behaviors, not only reflecting the process of adaptation that they undergo in the country to which they migrate, but also, in a way that is becoming increasingly common, reflecting an adjustment of their political attitudes towards the political universe of their country of origin.

The concept of governance arises from the government's incapacity to resolve the problems of society; as opposed to the idea of governability, which implies the legitimate capacity to take and apply political decisions, governance refers to the patterns or structures that emerge in a socio-political system, such as the 'common result' or outcome of the efforts at interactive intervention made by all the parties involved (Kooiman, 1993: 258). Other authors have pointed out that governance can be defined as a set of mechanisms and methods for responding to a broad range of problems and conflicts, by means of which the parties in-

volved usually reach binding, satisfactory decisions (Cruz, 2001: 3), even understanding it to be the citizens' perspective of having the capacity to resist impositions by the Government and, thus, define their political preferences, while assuming that society has sufficiently substantial resources with which to formulate, design and implement politics in accordance with its citizens' preferences (Navarro, 2002:2).

## II. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The present paper is performed within a context of reflection, as it centers on an issue that is fundamental for improving and advancing in democratic governance: the political culture of the immigrants in Spain.

Over the last decades, the political culture of immigrants in the societies that receive them has been debated extensively. The theoretical axis of these works includes the elements of analysis provided by political socialization, which has studied aspects of the process by which the subjects learn and interiorize values, symbols and attitudes with respect to politics. This school of thought has engaged in exploring the universal process of introduction to any type of regime, although a majority of the studies done from that perspective have been focused on explaining how democratization processes are consolidated. Mainly, emphasis is placed on the structural change of institutions, rather than on the subjects' internalization of democratic values; in other words, how the feeling of democracy is reproduced, how one acquires a citizen's conscience (Inglehart, 1988).

One of the central ideas giving substance to the proposal regarding political socialization is crucial for this framework proposal, as it allows us to structure a proposal on the political experience of the subjects upon migration. This school of thought emphasized for several years that the study of the formation of values and political ideas should be restricted to early childhood experiences. It was assumed that an individual's political character was practically complete by adolescence and, therefore, his political attitudes were already permanently formed by the time he reached adulthood. A significant theoretical break from this perspective occurred in the 1980s, when such premise was questioned, giving rise to the idea that socialization should be viewed as a lifetime process, whereby the dynamics of modern life, the legitimacy of multiple professions or social and geographical mobility are experiences in an adult's life that reconfigure his political attitudes and behaviors (Ichilov, 1990).

It is precisely within this perspective which renewed the study of political socialization that our theoretical guiding principle lies: the idea that political socialization does not end at some stage of the subjects' lives, but rather that it is a continuous and permanent process, making migration an ideal example of political resocialization among adults (Merelman, 1990). While before migrating, the subjects possess a series of criteria and beliefs regarding politics, once they are faced with a new political universe, they are able to adapt to new values, habits and customs; that is, they learn and assume new political attitudes.

We understand political attitudes to mean mental disposition and an inclination towards specific political issues that change frequently because they are affected by numerous external factors. Although these evaluations and actions are a response to specific circumstances, the key reason for studying them is that they provide us with the signs that indicate change and alterations taking place in a society, which at some point start to transform the society's political culture, implying the transformation of values, habits and beliefs regarding politics.

In other words, when studying political attitudes, we are analyzing the social reactions which, after a prolonged process of socialization, define the subtle and gradual but far-reaching changes that eventually consolidate the profound changes in mentality, perception and vision of the subjects' world. This leads to consolidated and deeplyrooted behavior that is not as affected by the specific situations and movements that are usually present in society (Peschard, 1994).

We should point out that the subjects' process of political socialization upon migration is the result of diverse intertwining factors which condition the type of political attitudes the migrants develop. In the case of contemporary migration, there are several elements that define the political socialization of immigrants. A guiding element in this process is the consolidation of the migrational flow in stable communities within host countries, which has led to, among other things, a deepseated debate in the receiving countries and, in some cases, legal regulations defining new types of citizens' rights for the immigrants. This means that the immigrants have been granted a series of concessions and political rights – the very ones to which they did not have access previously because of their status as non-citizens or *denizens* (Hammar, 1990). This phenomenon has not only caused an alteration in the classical idea of citizenry, providing new elements for the analysis of the subjects' political affiliations,



but it has also enabled a new relationship to exist between the immigrants and the political universe of the receiving country (Soysal, 1994), which has greatly influenced their political attitudes.

Another fundamental element of the immigrants' political socialization is the fact that some aspects of the modern world, such as globalization and technology, have enabled communities of contemporary immigrants to maintain closer, more continuous and ever-increasing contact with their countries of origin. This implies that the subjects not only become socialized with respect to the new political universe to which they migrate, but that as they repeatedly return to their home countries, they experience a permanent resocialization with respect to the values, habits and political attitudes that are changing in their home society. This process has been described as "plural socialization" or even "oversocialization" (Ichilov, 1990).

With regard to Ecuadorian, Colombia and others Latin American migration to Spain, this aspect is especially important when defining the immigrants' political culture, as the political system of them Ecuador, Colombia, and Peru have undergone processes of transition to democracy after a long tradition of authoritarianism, violence, populism, and anti-system politicians (Latinobarómetro, 2006). This process has also led to changes in the political institutions of those countries, and we can assume that it has brought on a change in the relationship between the citizens with regard to power, that is, the political culture. As a result of the process that both societies are undergoing, the immigrants have started to react, learning and sustaining a political position. This fact corresponds to what is established in the theory of political socialization since the political socialization that immigrants experience is differentiated between those who come from democratic societies and those who come from non-democratic regimes or regimes in the process of becoming democratic, which is determinant of the kind of attitudes and political activities that each group of immigrants eventually develops.

While subjects that come from democratic societies almost automatically take on the values, criteria and standards of the receiving society, the subjects who come from non-democratic societies (or ones in the process of political transition, as is the case of Ecuador and others Latin American countries) are more likely to remain isolated, feeling that they do not have any rights in the new society, only claiming privileges from the political system of the host country after they have resided there for an extended period. Ironically, although the immigrants that come from more authoritarian political systems take longer to assume a critical attitude toward the host country, they are the subjects who eventually develop the most critical attitudes, behaviors and positions with respect to their countries of origin (Chafee: 1990). That is, the immigrants who come from societies where democracy has not been consoli-

dated see themselves as individuals without full political rights even in their own countries, but at some point after migrating, they seem to recognize that their status as foreigners keeps them in a situation of political marginalization which they experience daily in their host country, but which leads them to make demands on and question their own countries of origin. As Chafee states in his study of Korean immigrants in San Francisco (Chafee: 1990).

In this regard, in the case of Latin American immigration in Spain, a fundamental issue in their process of political socialization is to explore the political dynamics of their countries of origin, Ecuador-Colombia-Peru, as it influences and affects them, even from a distance. In order to add more elements to this theoretical proposal, it is important to mention that the migratory phenomenon is a process that adapts to the conditions existing in the moment in time in which it takes place. That is, in each period of history, there are global conditions that give special characteristics to the socialization of the subjects involved in the process. An analysis of some characteristics of the “old migration” and of the theoretical explanations of this phenomenon from the perspective of socialization, provides us with additional elements for understanding why the current characteristics of the context surrounding international migration has special relevance over the form in which the political socialization process, object of study of this research project, occurs.

In summary, we can state that the socialization process brought on by migration is one of the main topics in which specialists on the migratory phenomenon are focusing. A broad range of studies has been aimed at analyzing the different forms of social and cultural adaptation and learning implicit in this process, giving rise to different theoretical proposals resulting from the migratory phenomenon, which are mainly divided between those which analyze racial and ethnic relationships, assimilation and cultural pluralism (Takaki, 1987). Despite the abundance of studies in this area, few of them have focused their analysis specifically on the political socialization of immigrants. Nonetheless, the study of immigrants’ socialization from a cultural perspective offers us an important line of theoretical analysis which has begun to be incorporated in works referring to the political experience of their subjects (Hoskin, 1990). For example, one line of debate that was important in this type of studies discussed whether migration implied an uprooting from the society of origin, or whether migration should be viewed as a process of adaptation in which the cultural backgrounds of different groups become intertwined with the new reality of the receiving society, as this determines their political behavior (Erie, 1988). These theoretical discussions mainly served to analyze what is known as “old migration”, which refers to the migratory flow occurring at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The issue was focused this way because the conditions of migration in that era implied that the subject left his home country permanently, meaning that contact with his country of origin and its influence on his views, perspectives and attitudes became weaker the longer he remained in the new country. That is, the socialization process of the immigrants of that era was concentrated on their experience of living in a new political and social universe: on the one hand, as a process of constant adaptation and assimilation in which certain elements, such as internal community structures – social hierarchies, family relationships and gender roles – were transformed over time, and on the other, as a process of integration that had a definitive impact on the societies in which the new members became established. Some clear examples of this duality between acculturation of the group and adaptation to new circumstances without losing one's original identity were the experiences of groups of Jews, Poles and Italians that migrated to the United States in that era (Pozzeta, 1991).

However, this perspective based on the analysis of the immigrants' experience of insertion in a new society was highly challenged and underwent drastic change, giving rise to new positions which highlighted the need to explain the socialization of immigrants from a different standpoint. Such positions ranged from those defending that the migratory process implied assimilation based on the specific characteristics of the ethnic group, to those that assumed a perspective based on a pluricultural position (Takaki, 1987). This change of perspective reflected the recognition of a group's own values which each minority brought to the predominant group without losing its singularity. However, it was the end of the Second World War that gave rise to the migratory process known as "new migration", which started with the massive recruiting of foreign workers both in Europe and the United States. A distinctive fact of this "new migration" as compared to the "old migration" was that while each government continuously promoted the migration of temporary workers by means of labor agreements, large communities of foreigners grew within the host societies and maintained their bonds with their communities of origin. This fact was conducive to more and more people joining the migratory circuit regardless of the legal conditions of their stay. A result of this process was a demographic change in the internal composition of each country, which explains why at present a significant percentage of the populations of Europe and the United States is made up of immigrants.

An important fact that should be borne in mind in relation to the "new migration" is that the growth of stable communities of foreigners has not come as a surprise to the different governments and almost all governments have tried to stop the flow of immigrants. However, in no case have they been able to keep migration from continuing to be a constant process; what they have generated is the growth of what is known as illegal or irregular immigration.

The reality of the existence and permanence of stable communities of foreigners has led to a new political scenario that each receiving country has dealt with differently, but mainly by establishing regularization processes for irregular immigrants. Nonetheless, although it seems contradictory, these legal agreements have favored the definitive consolidation of the communities of foreigners in host societies. Far from stopping the flow of immigrants, they have resulted in the arrival of a greater number of foreign workers to developed countries. Although they do not offer the same legal guarantees to immigrants, these economies continue to hire foreign labor, i.e. cheap and abundant.

This situation has led to the consolidation of social networks in the migratory circuit. Thus, even though the main motivation behind migration is economic, once the migratory flow has begun, social ties are developed between the communities of origin and destination, which at some point become consolidated in social networks which reduce the costs of migration (Massey, 1987). Said networks not only make migration cheaper but also, ironically, are one of the factors that favor its continuity, as they predispose the members of the sending communities to make the decision to migrate. The consolidation of these networks helps us to understand why, even though in almost all cases migration begins as a temporary and cyclical process, it ends with the definitive establishment of the foreigners in the new society. Consequently, in the international migration flow, it can be observed that apart from the conditions of the labor market, there is a complex framework of social networks supporting the very process (Massey, 1987): a social infrastructure that converts the initial movement into a permanent massive movement with an internal logic that goes beyond economic factors.

Consolidation of the social networks occurs when migration becomes an integral part of the life of the sending communities, having important consequences in the life of the communities that participate in the migratory circuit. However, the social networks that are formed in the international migratory flow not only serve as a bridge and a pillar of it but also create transnational communities due to the strong ties that are maintained with their communities of origin, providing them with a character which enables them to subsist as a group, as a community, beyond national borders (Smith, 1994). Transnationalism – a set of sustained long-distance, border-crossing connections – is not of course representative of migrant populations alone. But, specifically with regard to migrants, over the past ten to fifteen years the study of transnationalism has rapidly ascended within social scientific research on migration. The general perspective is summarized by Ayse Caglar (2001: 607): “Current scholarship on transnationalism provides a new analytic optic which makes visible the increasing intensity and scope of circular flows of persons, goods, information and symbols triggered by international labour migration. It allows an analysis of how migrants construct and reconstitute their

lives as simultaneously embedded in more than one society”. Just as in the broader study of migration, the study of transnational connections among migrants also carries sub-themes focusing on important areas such as ethnicity and identity, gender, family, religion, remittances, entrepreneurship and political participation.

Another distinguishing feature of the “new migration” was that after the end of the 80s, the international migration flow did not remain constant with respect to the destination of the immigrants. Rather, it started changing in the 90s and new countries started joining the migratory circuit. That is the situation of some of the countries that had mainly been labor-exporters and have now become receivers of thousands of people. This is the case of Greece and, above all, of the Iberian Peninsula. Thus, Spain has joined the network of developed countries with a high rate of reception of immigrants, a phenomenon which neighboring countries had already experienced. For that reason, regardless of the terminology used, it is not unusual to find numerous theoretical and empirical studies in Spain analyzing this fact (Arango, 2005; Zapata, 2003; López, 2004; Izquierdo, 2004). However, as mentioned, studies on the political culture of immigrants based on empirical data are practically nonexistent. Consequently, research to determine the political culture of the Latin Americans immigrants in Spain remains pending.

### III. OBJECTIVES OF THE FRAMEWORK

In the last ten years, the immigrant population in Spain has shown the highest growth rate of the European Union (INE: 2006, MTAS: 2007), implying that Spain has joined the international migration circuit in a relatively short period of time, as opposed to other European countries. The migratory phenomenon in Spain has generated special attention from the political institutions that are concerned with efficient migration management. Spanish public opinion has also shown greater interest in this issue, according to information published recently by the Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas (CIS, 2005), while academic research has analyzed this significant growth in recent years. The latter is evidenced by the increase in detailed studies on migratory flows, the provinces of settlement, work integration, religious beliefs, social adaptation and, more frequently, the increase in delinquency related to immigration (Arango, 2005; Zapata, 2003; López, 2004; Izquierdo, 2004).

However, these studies have omitted an issue that is relevant to the Spanish political system: political culture. This variable has been broadly used in other migratory experiences to explain the incorporation of immigrants into the new political system, while at the same time

serving to highlight the consonances and dissonances with respect to the prevalent values of the receiving society. Despite the different implications of the concept of political culture, the theoretical and methodological schemes of socialization have been used to explain the immigrants' beliefs, values and political attitudes with respect to a political system that is different from that of their countries of origin. This is relevant for democratic governance in Spain and other European countries especially considering that one of the main lines of action of the European Union has been to promote public policies derived from the interaction between the State, civil society, organizations and other social elements.

The main aim of this research project is to determine the political culture of Latin Americans immigrants (Ecuador, Colombia, and Peru) resident in Spain, based on the idea that the beliefs, values and political attitudes of the subjects explain the political processes taking place in the core of modern society. For this purpose, our first priority is to analyze whether or not the political culture of the Latin Americans immigrants residing in Spain has changed as a consequence of the migratory experience, on the understanding that political cultures can be significantly modified. The aim of such analysis would be to evaluate the impact of the values prevailing in Spanish society and the democratic presuppositions existing in other European Union countries on the political culture of the Ecuadorian Colombian, and Peruvian immigrants.

Finally, the present framework proposal is designed with the objective of analyzing the interaction between political institutions, civil society, community organizations and immigrants, and whether it contributes to the creation of democratic governance. Research on the political culture of immigrants based on the elements mentioned above and using a methodology that combines a theoretical and empirical approach has not been developed in Spain, in spite of the importance of the subject matter and of its relationship with the entrenchment of democratic governance.

### *Specific Objectives*

The main objectives are the following:

a) Determine the political culture of Ecuadorian, Colombian, and Peruvian immigrants resident in Spain. Our hypothesis, in accordance with the theoretical debate regarding the ever-changing political culture, is structured around the idea that the beliefs, values and political attitudes of the subjects explain the political processes taking place in the core of current society, of which immigration plays an important part. The initial premise is that foreign immi-

grants are not blank slates when they enter a new political system: they have deeply-rooted opinions, attitudes and expectations that are perhaps conditioned by the main characteristics of the political regime of their countries of origin. That is, the initial phase of the immigrants' socialization is the political legacy of an authoritarian regime, or of a recent process of democratic transition, or of consolidated democratic practices. In any case, the immigrants' beliefs, values and political attitudes are not instantly modified when they join the political system of the receiving countries. This is relevant for the viability and stability of contemporary democratic regimes which will eventually depend on the immigrants' underlying attitude.

b) Analyze whether or not the political culture of Ecuadorian, Colombian, and Peruvian immigrants resident in Spain has changed as a consequence of the migratory experience and the impact of the values that are prevalent in Spanish society. Our hypothesis, which is based on the theoretical debate regarding resocialization, is structured around the statement that political cultures can undergo important modifications in a relatively short period of time. This means that economic and social changes, generational movements or other types of factors and phenomena, such as international migration, can produce intense changes in a brief period of time. This is not only an expression of the subjects' process of adaptation in the new country to which they migrate, but also, to an increasing degree, a readjustment of their political attitudes towards their political universe of origin. In this regard, the idea of an enduring political culture, with a gradual inertia to change and often presented as impermeable to the variability of the modern world, becomes inadequate when explaining certain contexts in which migration plays a relevant role.

c) Analyze whether the public policies implemented by Spanish institutions and organizations which are oriented at achieving the integration of those groups of immigrants, have been aimed at seeking the adaptation of the political culture of the Ecuadorian, Colombian and Peruvian immigrants with that of the Spanish population. Our hypothesis is based on the consideration that one of the habitual characteristics of Spanish public policies is the reactive, rather than proactive, nature, as evidenced in numerous studies. This characteristic is also present in the design of public policies managing immigration in Spain in the last few years, a fact which will have negative effects on Spanish democratic governance in upcoming years. Moreover, our approach considers that the reactive nature of Spanish public policies in relation to the object of our study – the values of Ecuadorian, Colombian, and Peruvian immigrants – is explained mostly by the fact that, on the contrary to what has been defended in theories on democratic governance, Spanish political institutions have not sufficiently consulted with other elements of society on the design or in the development of these specific policies.

## IV. FRAMEWORK DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

In order to meet the objectives proposed in the design of this research project, a dual structuring of the methodology to be applied therein is required, employing diverse analysis techniques that combine quantitative and qualitative methodological instruments.

1. Determine the political culture of Ecuadorian, Colombian, and Peruvian immigrants resident in Spain.

Activity 1.1. In order to study the immigrants' political culture of origin, we will make a statistical analysis of the surveys contained in the databases of the Latinobarómetro, in the case of Ecuador, Colombia and Peru. Although the data contained in these studies offers a specific part of political culture indicators, it also contains another that is common in practically all of the last ten years, which will enable us to make a complementary longitudinal analysis. Furthermore, a specific quantitative and qualitative study developed by the project researcher will be performed in which these issues will be evaluated.

Activity 1.2. In order to analyze the beliefs, values and political attitudes of foreign immigration, firstly, it will be necessary to determine, from a theoretical and normative perspective, the existing mechanisms and parameters. Secondly, indicators shall be developed to measure the political culture of Ecuadorian, Colombian, and Peruvian immigrants in Spain. Thirdly, the researcher shall design a standardized questionnaire that will apply to Ecuadorian, Colombian, and Peruvian immigrants, containing questions that establish the political culture of the immigrants resident in Spain. Finally, a questionnaire will be designed by the researcher and applicable to the Ecuadorian, Colombian, and Peruvian immigrants in order to be used in in-depth semi-structured interviews with them.

2. Analyze whether or not the political culture of the Ecuadorian, Colombian, and Peruvian immigrants resident in Spain has changed as a consequence of the migratory experience and the impact of the values that are prevalent in Spanish society.

Activity 2.1. 120 standardized questionnaires will be distributed amongst the Ecuadorian, Colombian, and Peruvian immigrants in the provinces of Madrid, Barcelona, Almeria and Murcia. These provinces have been chosen as they are currently the main destinations of Ecuadorian, Colombian, and Peruvian immigrants in Spain. The representativeness sample it will be compared with the interviewees in the work directed by Juan Diez Nicolas for the Ministerio de Asuntos Sociales (Spain). The sample will be compared to the Encuesta de Po-



blación Activa y la Encuesta de Migraciones, available since 1999. Although the immigrants' legal status is not an essential requirement for being interviewed, age is fundamental and we shall seek candidates that were born in Ecuador, Colombia, and Peru and, preferably, that immigrated in the 90s; they shall necessarily be 18 years old or older, in order to meet the requirement that their first socialization has taken place in their country of origin. Despite the possible difficulties, we believe that valuable information can be gathered which will enable an in-depth reflection on the political culture of the Ecuadorian, Colombian, and Peruvian immigrants in Spain.

Activity 2.2. Next, 30 semi-structured in-depth interviews will be held. After collecting the 120 questionnaires, 30 cases will be chosen to be studied in depth. For this purpose, the researcher shall take advantage of the close collaboration he maintains with Ecuadorian, Colombian, and Peruvians immigrants' organizations in Spain, such as Red Acoge, the IOE group and, at an institutional level, the Observatorio de la Inmigración, which will undoubtedly facilitate the interviewing process. One of the main problems that this fieldwork will encounter is the sample. In this regard, while the universe of potential interviewees is very extensive, the sample is relatively small, due to the impossibility of defining a representative sample at this stage. This, along with the conditions inherent in this type of fieldwork, and the material, human and time limitations, have led us to opt for a number of interviews that, while it is not a representative sample, it will serve as an introduction to the political universe of the Ecuadorian, Colombian, and Peruvian immigrants resident in Spain. Our fieldwork is not aimed at covering the whole universe of immigrants but merely at discovering patterns in their perceptions and behavior in the clearest way.

Activity 2.3. This activity is aimed at determining how the Spanish political institutions and, thus, the European Union, influence the resocialization of the Ecuadorian, Colombian, and Peruvian immigrants. For this purpose, a series of indicators and questions applicable to the immigrants will be drawn up and included in the qualitative and quantitative studies to be carried out by the researcher.

3. Analyze whether the public policies implemented by Spanish institutions and organizations which are oriented at achieving the integration of both groups of immigrants, have been aimed at seeking the adaptation of the political culture of the Ecuadorian, Colombian, and Peruvian immigrants with that of the Spanish population.

Activity 3.1. A study shall be made of the different procedures that have been implemented in Spain and European Union countries for improving the mechanisms of democratic governance. After systematizing these procedures, a set of questions on these contents will be

drawn up to be included both in the quantitative and in the qualitative studies that will be carried out by the researcher. These questions will be evaluated by the immigrants to whom in-depth interviews will be made, as explained previously.

## V. REFERENCES

Arango, Joaquín. 2005. "Amnesty for Illegal Migrants: An Appropriate Policy? – The Case of Spain." Unpublished paper, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, April.

Arango, Joaquín, and Philip Martin. 2005. "Best Practices to Manage Migration: Morocco-Spain," *International Migration Review* 39 (1): 258-69.

Caglar, Ayse (2001) 'Constraining meta-phors and the transnationalisation of spaces in Berlin,' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 27(4): 601-13

----- (2002) 'Media corporatism and cosmopolitanism,' in *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism*, S. Vertovec and R. Cohen (eds), Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 180-90

Calderón Chelius, Leticia and Jesús Martínez, 2002. *La dimensión política de la migración mexicana*, México: Instituto Mora.

Carvajal, María Isabel. 2004. "Algunas notas sobre el perfil de los ciudadanos extranjeros en situación documental irregular en España en 2002 y 2003," *Migraciones* (Instituto Universitario de Estudios sobre Migraciones, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, Madrid), 15: 17-41.

Chaffe, H., Steven and Seung-Mock Yang, 1990. "Communication and Political Socialization", in Orit Ichilov comp. *Political Socialization, Citizenship Education and Democracy*, New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University.

Cornelius, Wayne A. 2004. "Spain: The Uneasy Transition from Labor Exporter to Labor Importer," pp. 388-429 in W.A. Cornelius, Takeyuki Tsuda, Philip L. Martin, and James F. Hollifield, eds., *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective*, 2nd ed. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

Cornelius, Wayne A., and Marc Rosenblum. 2005. "Immigration and Politics," in Robert Jervis, ed., *Annual Review of Political Science* 2005. Palo Alto, Calif.: Annual Reviews, pp. 99-119.

Cornelius, Wayne A., and Takeyuki Tsuda. 2004. "Controlling Immigration: The limits to Government Intervention," pp. 3-48 in W.A. Cornelius, Takeyuki Tsuda, Philip L. Martin, and James F. Hollifield, eds., *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective*, 2nd ed. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

Cornelius, Wayne A., Takeyuki Tsuda, Philip L. Martin, and James F. Hollifield, eds., *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective*, 2nd ed. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

Cruz, Cesar, 2001. "Gobernabilidad y "governance" democráticas: El confuso y no siempre evidente vínculo conceptual e institucional", en DHIAL Desarrollo Humano e Institucional en América Latina, No 23 ([www.iigov.org/dhial](http://www.iigov.org/dhial))

Díez Nicolás, Juan, and María José Ramírez Lafita. 2001. *La voz de los inmigrantes*. Madrid: Instituto de Migraciones y Servicios Sociales, Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales.

Durand, Jorge, and Douglas S. Massey, eds. 2004. *Crossing the Border: Research from the Mexican Migration Project*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Erie P., Steven, 1988, *Rainbow's End, Irish-Americans and the Dilemmas of Urban Machine Politics, 1840-1985*, California: California University Press.

Font, Joan, coord., 2001. *Ciudadanos y decisiones públicas*. Barcelona: Ariel Ciencia Política.

Font, Joan, ed., 2003. *Public participation and local governance*. Barcelona: ICPS.

Gil Araújo, Sandra. 2004. "Legislación y política migratoria en España: radicalizando la precarización social," *Revista Española de Estudios Norteamericanos* (Universidad de Alcalá).

Gualda Caballero, Estrella, and Marta Ruiz García. 2004. "Migración femenina de Europa del Este y mercado de trabajo agrícola en la provincia de Huelva, España," *Migraciones Internacionales* 2 (4): 36-65.

Guiraudon, Virginie, and Christian Joppke, eds. 2002. *Controlling a New Migration World*. New York and London: Routledge.

Hammar, Tomas, 1990. *Democracy and the nation state : aliens, denizens and citizens in a world of international migration*, Brookfield, Vt.: Averbury.

Hoskin, Marilyn, 1990. "Socialization and anti-socialization: The Case of the Immigrants", in Robert S. Siegel, *Political Learning in Adulthood*, Chicago: Chicago Press.

Ichilov, Orti, comp., 1990. *Political Socialization, Citizenship Education and Democracy*, New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University.

Instituto Nacional de Estadística. Padrón Municipal, Avance a 1 de enero de 2005 y Encuesta de Población Activa, III Trimestre de 2005.

Ireland, Patrick. 2004. *Becoming Europe: Immigration, Integration, and the Welfare State*. Pittsburgh, Penna.: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Inglehart, Ronald, 1988a. "The Renaissance of Political Culture," *American Political Science Review* 82, 4 (December, 1988) 1203-1230.

-----, 1988b, "Cultural Change in Advanced Industrial Societies: Postmaterialist Values and their Consequences," *International Review of Sociology* 3 (1988) 77-100.

-----, 1977. *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles among Western Publics*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

-----, 1990. *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).

-----, 1997. *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic and Political Change in 43 Societies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Izquierdo Escribano, Antonio. 2004a. "Los preferidos frente a los extranjeros permanentes: la inmigración marroquí en los inicios del siglo XXI," in Bernabé López, ed., *Atlas de marroquíes en España*. Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.

Izquierdo Escribano, Antonio. 2004b. "Inmigración y política de inmigración en España, 1996-2003," Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, University of California-San Diego, Working Paper.

Kooiman, Jan, 1993. *Modern governance: new government-society interactions*. Londres: Newbury Park, Sage Publications.

Latinobarómetro 1996- 2006. Consorcio Latinoamericano, Santiago de Chile.

Marcelli, Enrico A., and B. Lindsay Lowell. 2005. "Transnational Twist: Pecuniary Remittances and the Socioeconomic Integration of Authored and Unauthorized Mexican Immigrants in Los Angeles County," *International Migration Review* 39 (1): 69-102.

Massey, Douglas S., Ricardo Alarcón, Jorge Durand, y Humberto González. 1987. *Return to Aztlán: The Social Process of International Migration from Western Mexico*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Merelman, Richard, 1990. "The role of conflict in children's political learning", in Ichilov, Orti, comp., *Political Socialization, Citizenship Education and Democracy*, New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University.

Navarro, Carmen, 2002. *Gobernanza en el ámbito local*. Paper presentado en el VII Congreso internacional del CLAD sobre la reforma del Estado y de la Administración Pública, Lisboa, Portugal (8-11 oct).

Pérez, Manuel. 2004. "La evolución de los residentes extranjeros en España," *Migraciones* (Instituto Universitario de Estudios sobre Migraciones, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, Madrid), 15: 7-15.

Peschard, Jacqueline, 1994. "La cultura cívica democrática", *Cuadernos de Divulgación de la Cultura Democrática* No. 2, México: IFE.

Pozzeta, George E., comp., 1991. *American Immigration and Ethnicity*, New York: Garland Publishing Inc.

Smith, Robert C., 1994, "Los ausentes siempre presentes: The Imagining, Making and Politics of a Transnational Community between Tucuani, Puebla", Thesis Dissertation, Columbia University.

Soysal, Yasemin, 1994. *Limits of Citizenship*, Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Solé, Carlota, and Sonia Parella. 2003. "The Labour Market and Racial Discrimination in Spain," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 29 (1): 121-40.

Soriano Miras, Rosa María. 2004. *El asentamiento de la mujer marroquí en el poniente Almeriense*. Madrid: Consejo Económico y Social.

Takaki, Ronald, comp., 1987. *From Different Shores, Perspectives on Race and Ethnicity in America*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Zapata Barrero, Ricard. 2003. "The 'Discovery' of Immigration in Spain: The Politicization of Immigration in the Case of El Ejido," *Journal of International Migration and Integration* (2003): 522-39.

Zolberg, Aristide R. and Long Litt Woon. 1999. "Why Islam Is Like Spanish: Cultural Incorporation in Europe and the United States," *Politics & Society* 27 (1): 5-38. Important Note. There are an important bibliography regarding transnationalism, but this proposal only

included the specific bibliography related with Spain and the theoretical approach of the socialization in the immigrants.